

Native Americans
in their
Old and New Worlds



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Prepared by

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"Here you will see many things of the ocean, great countries, vast seas; you will learn of hitherto unknown languages, and of golden ages, and of nude nations free from the corrupting influence of money; of the torrid zone, fertile in precious stones and gold,--respect the venerable antiquity."

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De orbe novo . . . decades.* (1516)



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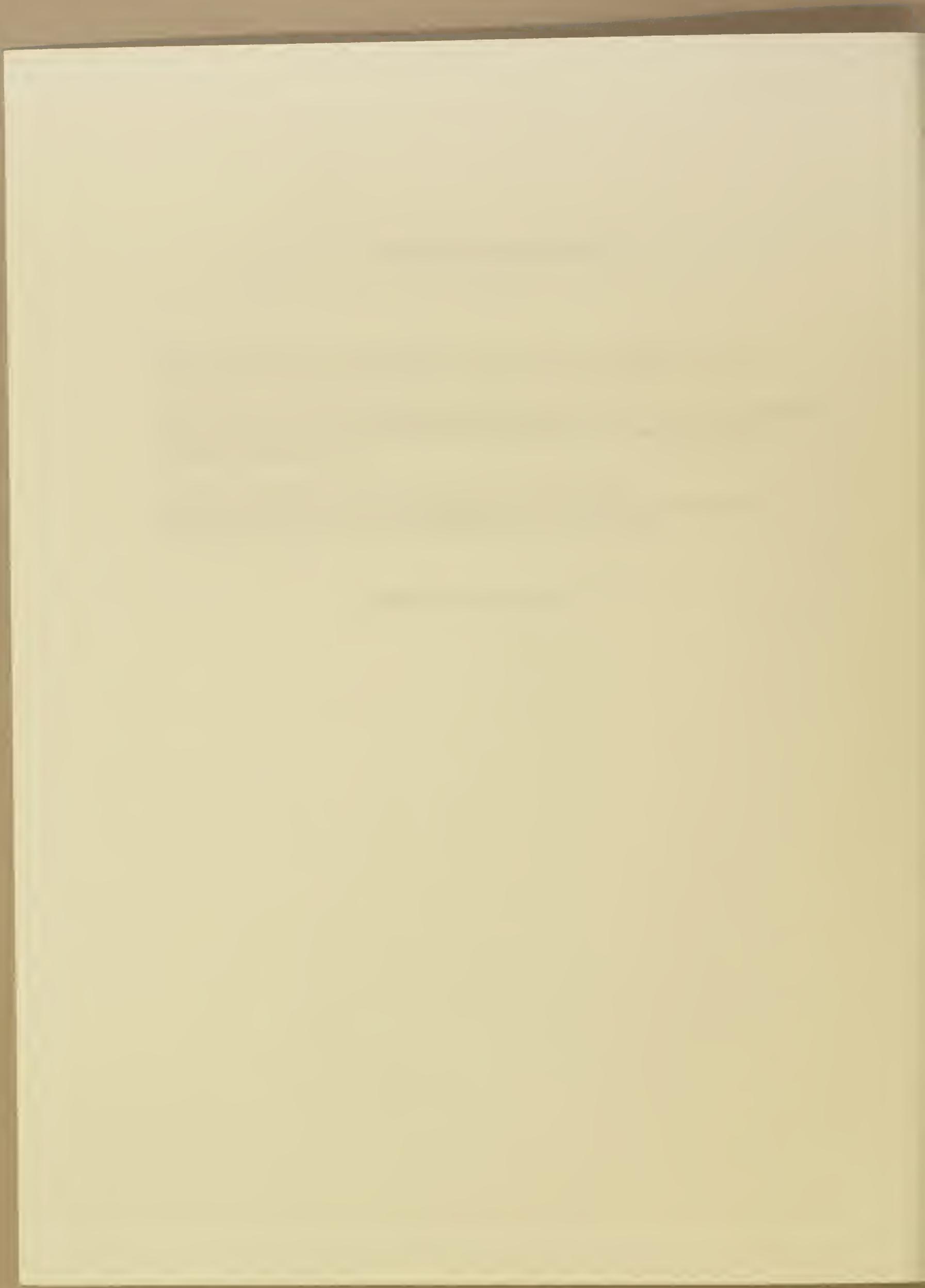
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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the colonial period, the natives of the New World were viewed by Europeans as literally and figuratively outsiders: aliens existing beyond both the physical and psychological boundaries of civilization as defined from an Old World perspective. Whether portrayed as innocents in paradise or savage beasts in a corrupt land, Indians were seen as undeveloped creatures living without established European standards of reason.

Some French observers held to the view, for example, that native Americans were "sans roy, sans loy, sans foy" (without king, without law, without faith). As further exploration, settlement, and evangelization continued, additional knowledge regarding the diversity of the indigenous populations and their social and religious practices was received in Europe. Although the French conception of the Indians was soon contradicted (for instance, by the highly developed Aztec and Inca civilizations), Amerindian religious and social structures were still not regarded as equivalent to their European counterparts. While an increase in knowledge concerning various native societies moderated some of the more extreme perceptions of the natives by European writers and illustrators, the portrayal of Amerindians as exotic Other remained.

Maintaining the vision of the Indian as the Other was essential for Europeans interested in colonization. If the native populations were savages, the Conquest and the installation of European political, religious, and economic structures would be justified. The continued reliance on the image of the Indian as existing beyond the structures of civilization was also related to the constant problem of how to communicate the realities of the New World and its inhabitants to the Old World. Firsthand observers were often limited by their ability to define America only in terms of European experience. In addition, authors and illustrators, as well as their audiences, had their own preconceptions of exotic places and inhabitants. These expectations limited the manner in which foreigners could be described: discussions of that which was alien still had to be comprehensible. This tension

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between primary information from America and the ability to translate this knowledge into understandable written and visual forms for Europeans would surface repeatedly during the colonial period.

Amerindians, certainly as much as the authors and artists who attempted to portray them, also found themselves caught between two worlds. While still geographically situated in the lands of their ancestors, their social and psychic worlds were in the process of being replaced with the structures of European colonialism; they were to live in worlds literally turned upside down. While the books and illustrations displayed here present information about the native populations in their Old and New Worlds, these materials also offer insights about the Europeans who created, published, and read them.

I. FIRST IMPRESSIONS AND EARLY ENCOUNTERS

Initial attempts by Europeans to describe the inhabitants of the New World were often based on existing representations of peoples from distant lands. Sources for these portrayals included classical mythology, contemporary folklore, and medieval travel writing such as that attributed to Sir John Mandeville. These perceptions based on known models for the exotic foreigner produced two contradictory types: inhabitants of the New World as innocents in paradise or as human monstrosities and barbarians. What these two contrasting depictions had in common was the definition of the natives as living outside the known and acceptable borders of civilization. Even as more firsthand accounts from America became available during the sixteenth century, the portrayal of the Indians was still generally limited to these stereotypes.

*

1. Cristopher Columbus. *Epistola . . . de insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inventis*. [Rome: S. Plannck, 1493].

The earliest printed account of the New World and its native population was Columbus's Letter describing his first voyage. The explorer wrote this account during his return trip to Spain in February of 1493. It was received by the Spanish sovereigns, manuscript transcriptions were made, and a copy was printed in Spanish in Barcelona in April 1493. A Latin translation was soon prepared and sent to Rome where it was printed the following month, becoming the publication which informed Europe of the results and potential of Columbus's journey. The report appeared in nine Latin editions as well as a German and an Italian verse adaptation before 1500.

The Letter was no doubt directed to the Spanish monarchy with the hopes of receiving funds for future voyages. After noting the existence of spices and gold, Columbus writes of the natives in terms that would be most pleasing to royal sponsors considering overseas colonization. He describes the indigenous

population as extremely timid, without firearms, and lacking government. Those Columbus met seemed to him straightforward, trustworthy, and "most liberal with all that they have; none of them denies to the asker anything that he possesses; on the contrary they themselves invite us to ask for it."

Along with the search for riches and a maritime passage to Asia, Columbus also expressed concern for the future evangelization of the inhabitants he encountered. The explorer judged the prospects for converting the natives to Christianity to be quite good: "In all the islands there is no difference in the appearance of the people, nor in their habits or language; on the contrary, they all understand each other, which circumstance is most useful to that end which I think our most serene sovereigns especially desire, namely, their conversion to the holy faith of Christ, to which indeed as far as I could see they are readily submissive and inclined."

*

2. Amerigo Vespucci. *Be [i.e.: De] ora antarctica per regem Portugallie pridem inventa.* Strassburg: M. Hupfuff, 1505.

Vespucci made three voyages to the New World. The first was in 1499 on a Spanish ship. This was followed by two Portuguese expeditions in 1501-1502 and one more in 1503. The report of his second voyage, during which he explored the coast of Brazil for hundreds of miles, was widely circulated throughout Europe. Within four years, it was published in twenty-eight editions. Readers were not only attracted to news of the New World but also to the vivid and detailed accounts of the cannibalism and the sexual mores of the indigenous population.

On the title page are two woodcuts based on details from the text. Four natives are shown in the upper illustration, "all of them, of both sexes, go naked, covering no parts of their bodies, as they issued from their mothers' wombs and as they will eventually die." In the lower woodcut are five vessels: the three with sails represent the Europeans' ships and the two without sails perhaps depict native boats.

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3. Amerigo Vespucci. *Van de nieuwer werelt oft landtschap*. Antwerp: J. van Doesborch, [1506-1507].

The idea of a society composed entirely of women, who allowed no men in their country and occupied themselves with hunting and battle, can be traced to the Greek myth of the Amazons. This concept was given new life in a new locale with Vespucci's description of exotic natives and customs, including a tribe of female warriors. This Dutch edition, with woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair, is the only known surviving copy.

*

4. Pamphili Eusebius. *Chronicon*. Paris: E. & J. Bade, 1512.

Contact between Amerindians and Europeans occurred in the Old World as well as the New. Natives were brought back to Europe under a variety of circumstances: as curiosities, as potential guides and interpreters for future voyages, and as prisoners to be sold as slaves. In this text of historical events, arranged in chronological order, is a passage for the year 1509 referring to natives taken from Canada to France by Captain Thomas Aubert. The Indians were described as being "wild men brought from that island (which is called Terra Nova) to Rouen, with their canoe, clothing, and arms. They are of a sooty color, with thick lips, and bearing marks on the face drawn like blue veins along the cheek-bones from the ear to the middle of the chin . . . They form a dialect with the lips; religion they have none . . . Their food: broiled flesh; drink: water. Of bread and wine and money they have not the least use."

*

5. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera. *De orbe novo . . . decades.* Alcalá de Henares: A.G. de Brocar, for A. de Nebrija, 1516.

The vision of America as a world inhabited by innocent people living in a land akin to the Garden of Eden was expressed by Anghiera, also known in English as Peter Martyr. A member of the Council of the Indies and the first official chronicler of the New World, the author wrote that the natives "seem to live in that golden world of which old writers speak so much, wherein men lived simply and innocently without quarrelling, judges and libel, content only to satisfy nature."

*

6. Sir Thomas More. *De optimo repu. statu, deque nova insula Utopia .* Basel: J. Froben, 1518.

More's *Utopia*, situated on an island supposedly near those discovered by Vespucci, depicts an ideal state in which all human miseries have been eradicated in a well-ordered society. Rather than documenting native life in the new found lands, however, the author created the New World setting as a device for indirectly criticizing the evils found in European society. By describing, for instance, the material benefits (such as food, clothing, shelter, medicine, and education) available to all the inhabitants of Utopia, More provided both an indictment of the impoverishment of many Europeans and a plan for a better and more equitable society.

*

7. Hernán Cortés. *La preclara narratione . . . della Nuova Hispana*. Venice: B. Vercellensis, for G.B. Pederzano, 1524.

The conquest of Mexico not only revealed the incredible wealth to be found in the New World, but also a civilization with a political, economic, social, and religious organization quite different from the native Caribbean societies previously encountered. The marvels and riches of the Aztec empire, as well as the tale of its overthrow, were described by Cortés in his written reports to Emperor Charles V, three of which were published in fourteen editions between 1522 and 1532. This first Italian edition of the second and third letters covers events in Mexico through May 22, 1522, including Cortes's advance into Mexico and the destruction of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan.

The earliest known map of an American city is this plan of Tenochtitlan, attributed to Albrecht Dürer, which shows the city's design before the Spanish conquest. Major religious buildings in the main square are indicated, as are causeways that connected the city's 200,000 residents to the mainland, and aqueducts for fresh water.

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8. Lorenz Fries. *Uslegung der Mercarthen*. Strassburg: J. Grüninger, 1527.

New World cannibals operating in a butcher shop, as seen in this woodcut, were described by Vespucci, whose account of his first voyage appears in this book concerning Martin Waldseemüller's marine chart of 1525. The image of dog-headed creatures residing in distant lands was familiar to European readers through descriptions in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* and Pliny's *Natural History*.

The text accompanying the illustration reads: "The cannibals are hideous, horrid creatures, appear to be equipped with dogheads, ghastly to look at, and they dwell on an island discovered by Christofel Dauber [" Christopher Dove," i.e. Christopher Columbus] in recent years. The cannibals all go naked and are only decorated with parrot feathers of many colors mixed into a strange pattern."

*

9. Francisco de Xerez. *Libro primo de la conquista del Peru & provincia del Cuzco de la Indie occidentali*. Venice: S. dei Nicolini da Sabbio, 1535.

The first official account of the conquest of Peru was written by Francisco de Xerez, Francisco Pizarro's secretary. His eyewitness account of events through February 1533 included descriptions of the Inca Empire and the overthrow of its ruler Atahualpa. The book was originally published in Seville upon the author's return from America with the first shipment of Peruvian gold in July 1534. This first Italian edition, translated by Dominico de Gaztelu, was printed the following year. The text was also reprinted and appended to the 1547 edition of Oviedo's *La hystoria general de las Indias*.

*

10. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés. *La historia general de las Indias*. Seville: J. Cromberger, 1535.

Although canoes had been described as early as 1493 in Columbus's Letter, and the Carib term was one of the first native words to enter European dictionaries, the woodcut shown here is the first published illustration of this distinctively American boat. The design, like all the illustrations in the book, is based on the author's own sketches.

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Oviedo lived in the Spanish colonies for thirty-five years, serving in several military and civilian posts and eventually holding the governorships of Carthagena and Hispaniola. The positions he held and his wide-ranging travels allowed him to observe many aspects of life in the Spanish Indies, including political events, natural history, and native customs. These he compiled, in a detailed yet diffuse style, in his *historias*, which were published in two volumes in 1535 and 1537. Spanish editions of the work appeared in 1547 and 1557 and translations into French and English were also available by the end of the sixteenth century.

*

11. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. *La relacion que dio . . . lo acaescido en las Indias*. Zamora: A. de Paz y J. Picardo, [1542].

The earliest journey by a European across the North American continent was accomplished over a nine-year period by Cabeza de Vaca. Treasurer of an ill-fated expedition, he and his men crossed the continent from present day Florida to the province of Sinaloa on the Pacific Ocean. Throughout the journey, they came in contact with the various tribes of the region. His report to the King of Spain provided the earliest published information about the North American borderlands of the Spanish empire and its inhabitants. Since the social organization and means of livelihood of these tribes were quite distinct from those of previously encountered natives, the book greatly expanded European geographic and ethnographic knowledge of the New World.

*

12. Spain. *Leyes y ordenanças nueva[m]ente hechas por Su Magestad, p[ar]a la governacion de las Indias y buen tratamiento y conservacion de los Indios*. Alcalá de Henares: J. de Brocar, 1543.

Influenced by the Dominican Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas and other religious figures and philosophers who promoted humane and just treatment of the Indians under Spanish rule, Charles V issued these "New Laws of the Indies." The

document consists of two ordinances promoting better treatment of the Indians and limiting the *encomienda*, a system under which Spaniards were awarded monopolies on Indian tribute and labor. It also included a decisive clause forbidding the enslavement of any Indians for any reason. While the text may be viewed as a landmark in early human rights legislation, these provisions were ineffective in the colonies and in 1545 the laws were revoked.

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13. Bartolomé de Las Casas. *Aqui se contiene una disputa, o controversia . . . entre el obispo . . . y el doctor Gines de Sepulveda..* Seville: S. Trugillo, 1552.

Las Casas came to Hispaniola in 1502, joined the priesthood in 1510, and eventually became the Bishop of Chiapas in Mexico. After observing firsthand the drastic loss of native life, which he attributed to the abuses of colonization, he began a campaign to protect the physical and spiritual well-being of the Amerindian populations. For his commitment to this ideal, he was given the title "Protector of the Indians" by Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, who was Regent of Spain after Ferdinand's death and before the accession of Charles V.

The seriousness with which the issue of the status of the Indians was taken by the Catholic Church and the Spanish monarchy was reflected in a series of public debates in 1550 between Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, a theologian and classicist. The conflict centered around the moral question of whether the Indians were able to be converted, and if so, if their rights should be protected before conversion was accomplished. This tract is a forceful representation of Las Casas's convictions on the matter. It includes a summary of the philosophical differences between the two disputants, the arguments of Sepulveda, and Las Casas's responses. This copy is bound with eight other works by Las Casas published between 1552 and 1553. All are concerned with the rights of the Indians and together form the principal sources for Las Casas's denunciations of Spanish colonization.

*

14. Bartolomé de Las Casas. *Narratio regionum indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima*. Frankfort: T. de Bry and J. Sauer, 1598.

Las Casas's *Destruction of the Indies* was written in 1539 while the author was in Spain, but not published until 1552, after his debates with Sepúlveda. Due to its strong indictment of Spanish colonization, the work was a popular source for the "Black Legend," promoted by the Protestants, of deliberate Spanish cruelty, and the tract went through numerous editions. It was reprinted and translated more often than any of his other works, including editions in Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, French, and English. This Latin edition is a translation of *Tyrannies et cruautez des Espagnols* (Antwerp, 1579), the first edition to be printed outside of Spain, which in turn is a translation of the Spanish original entitled *Brevissima relacion de la destruccion de las Indias*. Published by the Flemish engraver Theodor de Bry, it contains detailed engravings of alleged Spanish atrocities in the New World. Displayed here is the execution of Queen Anacaona and the massacre of her subjects in Hispaniola.

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15. Pedro de Cieza de León. *Parte primera dela Chronica del Peru*. Seville: M. de Montesdoca, 1553.

Cieza de León came to the New World in his early teens to seek his fortune. In Peru he participated in the civil war of 1544-1548, allied with Pedro de La Gasca against Gonzalo Pizarro. Afterwards, he travelled throughout the Andes collecting information for his proposed major history of the area. His chronicle, of which only the first part was published in the author's lifetime, is based on his own observations, official documents, and oral reports from Indians throughout the region.

This woodcut of the Cerro de Potosí strikingly shows the colonial influence on the Andean landscape with its representation of the veins of ore in the mountain which was to become the major source of silver in Peru. The Incas had probably worked the highest veins at Potosí with open pit mining before the Conquest. The Spanish, however, had knowledge of tunneling techniques which allowed them to exploit deeper veins. Due to the extreme altitude of the mines, European bellows could not bring ores to the proper heat and indigenous wind ovens known as *huayras* were still used during the first years of Spanish mining. Indian labor provided much of the work force for the mines.

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16. Agustín de Zárate. *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru.*
Antwerp: M. Nuyts, 1555.

European attempts to describe New World phenomena were often reduced to defining cultures and objects in negative terms, i.e.: not being of a European nature. Thus, early depictions of native spiritual life often emphasized the Indians' ignorance and rejection of Christianity. A diverse range of indigenous rituals and spiritual concepts that were misunderstood or observed out of context were often reduced to alleged worship of the devil. In this section of Zárate's *Historia*, concerning the religious beliefs and practices of the Incas, the demonic influence on native behavior is portrayed in this woodcut.

The author was comptroller of accounts for Castile for fifteen years before he was sent to Peru to examine the state of colonial finances in 1543. He returned to Spain two years later and wrote this history of the discovery and conquest of Peru, based on his own notes, documents about the civil war he had observed, and other published sources. Nine editions were published before the end of the sixteenth century, including translations into Italian, English, and Dutch.

*

17. Hans Staden. *Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung einer Landschaft der wilden nacketen grimmigen Menschenfresser Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen.* Marburg: A. Kolbe, 1557.

Cannibalism was an extremely important and vivid element in the European construction of Amerindian savagery. Even before the Encounter, anthropophagy had held a place in the European imagination as a horrific practice found in distant lands. In the New World context, it was mentioned as early as Columbus's Letter reporting on his first voyage (although he stated he did not see any) and given much wider diffusion by Vespucci.

The practice of cannibalism was examined in unprecedented detail in Hans Staden's narrative of his experiences as a prisoner of the Tupinambá Indians of Brazil. The book includes woodcuts (apparently made after the author's own drawings) which crudely yet effectively depict this and other customs of the tribe. The great popularity of the book may be ascribed to the author's recounting of his harrowing adventures and his lively account of Tupinambá customs. Although Staden and his publisher appear to have been hoping for a large audience with his provocative and sensational title ("True history and description of a land of savage, naked, vicious, man-eating people, located in the New World America"), much of what Staden wrote about the Tupinambá has been verified by other sources.

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18. André Thevet. *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique.* Paris: Heirs of M. de LaPorte, 1558.

Thevet was a Franciscan friar who came to Brazil in 1555 with Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon to found a French colony. He spent only two months there before returning to France and it is not clear if his report, including detailed information on the Tupinambá, was based on direct observation or compiled from other written sources. The majority of the illustrations show native customs, such as these two woodcuts depicting funerary rituals.

*

19. Girolamo Benzoni. *La historia del Mondo Nuovo . . . Nuovamente ristampata et illustrata con la giunta d'alcune cose notabile dell'isole Canaria..* Venice: Heirs of G.M. Bonelli, for P. & F. Tini, 1572.

In a horrifying scene with no small degree of poetic justice, the Indians attempt to satisfy the Spaniards all-consuming greed for gold by pouring the molten metal down the conquistadors' throats. As with the other illustrations in the book, it seems to be based on the author's own sketches.

Benzoni was born in Milan and went to America in 1541 at the age of twenty-two. For fourteen years he travelled widely throughout the Spanish colonies, including Haiti, Cuba, Panama, Colombia, and Peru. His History of the New World, which first appeared in Italy in 1565, was widely reprinted: more than thirty editions were published before the end of the eighteenth century, including translations into Latin, German, French, Dutch, and English. The book's popularity may have been due to its highly critical portrayal of Spanish activities; like Las Casas's *Destruction of the Indies* it played an important role in the creation of the "Black Legend." The author's vivid, eyewitness accounts may also have contributed to a long-lasting interest in the book.

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20. Dionyse Settle. *La navigation du Capitaine Martin Forbisher anglois, és regions de west & nordwest, en l'annee M.D. LXXVII.* [Geneva?]: A. Chuppin, 1578.

An Inuit who travelled to England with Sir Martin Frobisher after his second journey to Baffin Island in 1577 is shown in his kayak giving a duckhunting demonstration in the harbor of Bristol, England. Instead of the actual backdrop of an English waterfront, the artist provided an arctic setting with additional natives, a sealskin tent, a dog-sled, and an Inuit woman carrying a baby on her back. The illustrator also imaginatively added European beards for the native men.

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21. Jean de Léry. *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil, autrement ditte Amerique . . . Avec les figures, reveue, corrigee & bien augmentee de discours notables en ceste troisiesme edition.* [Geneva:] A. Chuppin, 1585.

Léry was a Calvinist minister who lived in "La France Antarctique," an unsuccessful attempt at French colonization in Brazil between 1555-1559. Thevet (see item 18) was also a member of the expedition, and the little that is known about the colony is from the writings of these two men. Because the French were allied with the Tupinambá against the Portuguese, Léry had good relations with the natives and wrote of them quite favorably. He even tried to put their cannibalism in perspective, comparing it to the horrors he had observed during the religious wars in France. Indeed, his book influenced the development of the concept of the Noble Savage, particularly as discussed by Montaigne. In the woodcut displayed here, a Frenchman is participating in an indigenous greeting ceremony.

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22. Michel de Montaigne. *Les essais . . . edition nouvelle trouvée apres le deceds de l'autheur, reveüe et augmentee par luy d'un tiers plus qu'aux precedentes impressions.* Paris: M. Sonnius, 1595.

The 1595 revised edition of Montaigne's *Essays* is based on the author's own annotated copy of the first printing (Bordeaux, 1580). It includes his essay "Des Cannibales," which refers to the Tupinambá of Brazil. The likely source for Montaigne's information about the tribe is Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage* described above. In the manner of Sir Thomas More (see item 6), Montaigne was interested in using Amerindians to highlight the faults of European society. For instance, he noted that cannibalism was not cruel in the same sense as torture, an established element of the European judicial process of the times. Montaigne concluded that it was better for Amerindians to eat their dead enemies than to eat a man alive as did the Europeans.

Theodor de Bry and his New World

Theodor de Bry, a Flemish engraver and publisher residing in Frankfurt, produced an ambitious series of books documenting the European discovery and conquest of the Americas. Known as the *Grand Voyages*, the complete series consists of fourteen folio volumes printed between 1590 and 1644. Each book includes texts adapted from manuscripts as well as previously published accounts, including those of Thomas Harriot, Hans Staden, Girolamo Benzoni, Sir Walter Raleigh, and José de Acosta. Complementing these texts of exploration and colonization were copperplate engravings produced by de Bry and his family which provided a visual array of historical and anthropological details of native life. These illustrations, some based on field sketches but many derived from previously published woodcuts, played a major role in the creation of the European vision of the New World and its inhabitants.

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23. Thomas Hariot. *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia.*
Frankfurt: J. Wechel, for T. de Bry, to be sold by S. Feyerabend, 1590.

Sir Walter Raleigh received a grant in 1585 to create an English colony in the area which is now North Carolina. The project only lasted a year due to food supply problems, hostile relations with the indigenous population, dissent among the colonists, and the absence of immediate riches such as gold or silver. Thomas Harriot, a mathematician, surveyor, and the chief scientist of the expedition, wrote *A briefe and true report* intending to counteract any negative publicity surrounding the failed colonization and to promote further British settlement in North America. De Bry combined Harriot's text, with engravings based on the watercolors of John White, who served as the artist for the expedition.

White's drawings, as they were adapted by de Bry, reveal America to be an idyllic land inhabited by strong and healthy natives. The Indians often display exotic manners and customs, but they are still visually appealing in a classical manner familiar to the educated European reader. In this plate entitled "Their dances which they use att their hyghe feastes," de Bry made only minor alterations to the artist's original drawing. White's intention of portraying a land of innocence is confirmed by Harriot's descriptions of the heads carved in the posts "like to the faces of Nonnes covered with theyr vayls" and of the three dancers in the middle as "three of the fayrest Virgins."

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24. René Goulaine de Laudonnière. *Der ander Theil der newlich erfundenen Landtschafft Americae, von dreyen Schiffahrten, so die Frantzosen in Floridam.* Frankfurt: W. Richter, for Widow & Sons of T. de Bry, 1603.

Jacques Le Moine de Morgues, a cartographer and illustrator, accompanied René Goulaine de Laudonnière to Florida in 1564, as part of a French expedition to the southeastern portion of North America. The meeting of Laudonnière and the Indian "king" Athore shown here is based on the one extant painting by Le Moine, most likely executed after the artist's return to France. In this meeting between Europeans and natives, the Indians explain that a marble column left two years earlier by the French Captain Jean Ribaut as a symbol of territorial possession was not only intact but had become an object of worship.

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25. Girolamo Benzoni. *Americae pars quarta.* Frankfurt: J. Feyerabend, for T. de Bry, 1594.

Girolamo Benzoni's *History of the New World* (see item 19) was reprinted and translated into seventeen editions by the end of the sixteenth century. Three volumes of the *Grands Voyages* were devoted to illustrating Benzoni's text, with many of the engravings based on woodcuts from the earlier editions.

The author's history of Spanish conquest provided de Bry with numerous opportunities for shocking displays of brutality engendered by life under colonial rule. In this illustration, the Indians of San Juan de Puerto Rico conduct an experiment to determine if Spaniards are mortal: "Having thus drowned him, they carried him back on their shoulders to their master, who, seeing that he was dead, considered that all the others must also be mortal. Thus he concerted a revolt with the other chiefs who had suffered ill-treatment from the Spaniards."

*

26. Walter Raleigh. *Kurtze wunderbare Beschreibung. dess goldreichen Konigreichs Guiana in America, oder neuen Welt.* Nuremberg: C. Lochner, for L. Hulsius, 1599.

27. Walter Raleigh. *Brevis & admiranda descriptio regni Guiana, auri abundantissimi, in America, seu Novo Orbe.* Nuremberg: C. Lochner, for L. Hulsius, 1599.

These two small quarto editions of Sir Walter Raleigh's *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empyre of Guiana*, were published as the fifth title of Levinus Hulsius's collection of voyages. Eight years after Theodor de Bry began the *Grands Voyages*, Hulsius began a similar series, but printed in a more convenient and economical size. Like de Bry, Hulsius adapted texts and images from previously published sources, combining the two in a cheap, popular format. The success of Hulsius's work is apparent from the duration of its publication. Twenty-six parts in sixty-nine volumes (with various editions and issues) were published between 1598 and 1663.

The German and Latin editions of part five are an abridgement of Raleigh's account of his second voyage in 1595, in which he describes Guiana as a land of great wealth offering gold, precious stones, pearls, sugar, rare medicines, and silk. He wrote of a region inhabited by extraordinary natives such as the Blemmyae, people with faces in their breasts, and Amazons. The image of the latter shooting two men suspended in a tree also appears in a woodcut in Thevet's account of Brazil.

II. MISSIONARIES, SCHOLARS, AND THE INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE

After the initial period of exploration and colonization, the European vision of Amerindians continued to be dominated by the image of exotic natives remaining outside the European conception of civility. Within this broad characterization, however, a shift occurred away from describing Indians simply as objects of fascination, wonder, and horror. This change is seen particularly in the accounts written by missionaries, many of whom lived for extended periods of time among indigenous populations. As additional information concerning native societies throughout the Americas was received from these educated observers, a greater awareness developed concerning the range of native cultures with their own languages, religious beliefs, and histories.

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28. Catholic Church. Province of Lima. Provincial Council (1583).
Confessionario para los curas de Indios. Ciudad de los Reyes [Lima]: A. Ricardo, [1585].

Confronted with an enormous native population that could not understand the language of the conquerors, the need to translate Christian thought into indigenous tongues was quickly recognized. In both Mexico and Peru, some of the earliest products of the colonial presses were religious works such as catechisms and confessional manuals intended to assist in the conversion of the natives. Grammars and dictionaries were also produced to enable missionaries to preach and instruct in the languages of the Indians.

This *Confessionario*, written by order of the Provincial Council of Lima of 1583-1584, was the second book printed in Lima. Written in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara, it provided missionaries with texts enabling them to conduct confessions in two of the languages spoken in the Inca Empire. This copy is bound with two other early trilingual religious works from Antonio Ricardo's press: *Tercero cathecismo y exposicion de la doctrina christiana, por sermones* (Lima, 1585) and

Doctrina Christiana (Lima, 1584). These works are of particular interest to scholars researching the interactions between European and native belief systems in Peru during the colonial period.

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29. Bernardino de Sahagún. *Psalmodia christiana, y sermonario de los santos del año, en lengua mexicana*. Mexico: P. Ocharte, 1583.

This hymnal is a collection of psalms written in Náhuatl to be performed in *areítos* or brief dramatic interludes. Due to the difficulty of translating theological concepts, dramatic representations were considered a valuable instructional tool in the early period of evangelization of the Indian populations. For those natives who could not read, woodcut illustrations accompanying the psalms were also useful pedagogical devices. The Franciscan Father Sahagún, an early ethnographer of Aztec culture, also wrote *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, a copious study of the life and customs of the indigenous groups of Central Mexico which consisted of a Náhuatl text, a Spanish text with additional commentary, and approximately 1,850 drawings. The work remained in manuscript until it was published in three volumes in 1829-1830.

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30. José de Acosta. *Neundter und Letzter Theil Americae, darinn gehandelt wird von gelegenheit der Elementen/Natur/Art und eigenschaft der Newen Welt*. Frankfurt: W. Richter & M. Becker, for Widow & Sons of T. de Bry, 1601.

José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, originally published in Seville in 1590, was translated into German for the ninth volume of de Bry's *Grands voyages*. The author had spent seventeen years in Mexico and Peru as a Jesuit missionary, acquiring information regarding the history, religious beliefs,

laws, government, and customs of Middle and South American natives. The garden illustrated here, raised as tribute to the king Azcapuzalco, was to be both grown and delivered by his subjects only on waterways.

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31. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas. *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar Oceano*. Madrid: J. Flamenco, for the Emprenta Real, 1601.

As the official historian of the Indies for the Spanish government, Herrera had access to a wealth of archival and published sources. These he combined in encyclopedic fashion to create this classic history of Spain's colonial enterprise in the New World between 1492 and 1554. Although the author did not concentrate on native history and customs, he did include previously unpublished materials by early observers of indigenous life such as Bernal Díaz, who accompanied Cortés in Mexico, and Bartolomé de Las Casas. This illustrated title page to the fifth decade of the history shows the succession of Inca rulers. Although the portraits do not provide specific facial details of the individual Incas, the ethnographic information concerning the clothing, headgear, staffs, and earplugs are accurate.

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32. El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. *Primera parte de los commentarios reales*. Lisbon: P. Crasbeeck, 1609.

The mestizo historian Garcilaso de la Vega was born in Peru but spent his adult life in Spain. His account of the Inca Empire included much information regarding its history, religion, government, social organization, and customs and was based on recollections from his childhood in Cuzco as well as written and oral sources.

Garcilaso's firm attachment to both the Inca and Spanish worlds led him to the ambiguous task of relating the history, culture, and oral tradition of Inca civilization in the language of the conqueror. Aware of the difficulties of translating between

cultures, he criticizes the Spanish who "are ignorant as far as the keys to the language; . . . for this reason they write with a great deal of error, interpreting badly, such as saying that the Incas and their followers worship as gods all those things that are called huaca, not being aware of all the meanings that [word] has." Garcilaso explains that beyond signifying sacred sites and offerings, *huaca* also referred to exceedingly beautiful, ugly, monstrous, unnatural and unusual people, places, and objects.

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33. Juan de Torquemada. *La [-IIIa] parte de los veinte y un libros rituales y monarchia yndiána*. Seville: M. Clavijo, 1615.

The use of visual aids in the religious education of the Indians is displayed here on the title page of the second volume of Torquemada's *Monarchia Yndiána*. The image of a friar pointing to a series of painted scenes based on the life of Christ is derived from an engraving in Diego Valadés's *Rhetorica Christiana*, published in Perugia in 1579.

Utilizing native sources and unpublished works, particularly the ethnohistorical researches of fellow missionary Gerónimo de Mendieta, Torquemada's religious and civil history of pre-Hispanic and sixteenth- century Mexico was intended to show the equivalence between native monarchies and their societies and contemporary European cultures.

*

34. Samuel Purchas. *Purchas his pilgrimes*. London: W. Stansby, for H. Fetherstone, 1625.

The reproduction of the *Codex Mendoza* by Purchas remained the major published source of Mexican pictographs until the early 1800s. This pictorial representation of Aztec history and manners was originally produced by Mexican illustrators, with inscriptions by missionaries, for the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza of New Spain in

the first half of the sixteenth century. The wide scope of the codex, in Purchas's words, was a combination of "Historie, yea a Politicke, Ethike, ecclesiastike, Oeconomike History, with just distinctions of times, places, acts, and arts." Purchas included the work in the volumes he edited of travel and exploration accounts to various parts of the world.

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35. Antonio de León Pinelo. *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica*. Madrid: J. González, 1629.

The first edition of the first bibliography of Americana also contained a twelve page list of forty-three Amerindian languages then spoken in Spanish America. The engraved title page by J. de Courbes has the personifications of America (here identified as Iberica but associated with the West), India, Geographia, and Navigatio, symbolizing the bibliographic subjects covered in the book. The use of a female Amerindian as a symbol for the New World became a popular motif in the seventeenth century (see section III, below, entitled Allegories and symbols).

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36. Juan Perez Bocanegra. *Ritual formulario, e institucion de curas, para administrar a los naturales de este reyno. . . .* Lima: G. de Contreras, 1631.

This kinship diagram of the Inca genealogical system indicates the general rules for acceptable and prohibited marriages: for instance, relatives may marry only at the generation of great-great-grandchildren. While representing native Andean concepts, the form (without the specific Quechua terminology) may also have been based on medieval European traditions for constructing genealogical models. The illustration is found in Perez Bocanegra's manual for priests administering to Indian populations in the Andes. The bilingual text included instructions on conducting baptisms, confirmations, the eucharist, and confessions.

*

37. Roger Williams. *A key into the language of America: or, an help to the language of the natives in that part of America, called New-England.* London: G. Dexter, 1643.

The first book on an Amerindian language printed in English was also the first book published by Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island. Dictionaries, vocabularies, grammars, and religious works had already been produced for the native languages of Spanish America and the Huron language in French Canada, but this was the first such book generated in the British colonies.

The work is comprehensive in its treatment of Narragansett Indian life. Williams attempted to cover everything from food, clothing, and shelter to customs, government, religion, commerce, and natural history. The section on travel includes Narragansett phrases and the author's observations related to the topic: "They are joyfull in meeting of any in travell, and will strike fire either with stones or sticks, to take Tobacco, and discourse a little together."

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38. *New Englands first fruits; in respect. First of the conversion . . . of the Indians . . .* London: R.O. and G.D. for H. Overton, 1643.

This narrative describes the earliest evangelization of New England's Indians, including specific instances of conversion and the natives' application of Christian thought in everyday circumstances. The tract is the first of a series of eleven reports regarding the conversion of the region's indigenous peoples issued by the Puritan minister John Eliot and other missionaries between 1643 and 1671. Some of the pamphlets were published by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Indians of New England.

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39. Bible. Massachuset. Eliot. 1663. *Mamusse wunneetupanatamwe up-Biblum God.* Cambridge [Mass]: S. Green and M. Johnson, 1663.

The Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New England was responsible for one of the landmarks of early printing in the British colonies. The "Eliot Bible" is the first Bible printed in the New World, and the first example in history of the translation and printing of the entire Bible in a new language (Massachuset) as a means of evangelism. With the assistance of native translators, Eliot had previously translated the New Testament, which was also printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1661.

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40. *Coyoacán codex (ms).* [Mexico, c.1700-before 1743].

In contrast to the other items on display, which concentrate on the Indians and their culture as seen from a European point of view, this illustrated manuscript offers a different perspective on Amerindians as active participants in their old and new worlds. Using indigenous methods and materials, the residents of Mazatepe in the Coyoacán region of Mexico prepared this forgery in the first half of the eighteenth century to appear as a sixteenth-century landholding document. In an effort to preserve property rights, native amatl paper made from fig tree bark, watercolor illustrations, and Náhuatl explanations were combined in an effort to use the colonial legal system to reinforce the community's property claims.

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41. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesilla. *Heldhaftige reys-togten, te land, door Ferdinandes Cortes, in Nieuw-Spanje*. Leyden: P. van der Aa, 1707.

The literature of travel and exploration remained an attractive and profitable enterprise for eighteenth-century publishers. The Dutch author, editor, and publisher Van der Aa, like his predecessors de Bry, Hulsius, and especially John L. Gottfried (see item 52), adapted previously published texts and images to produce his collection of travel narratives. The entire series, covering voyages to the East and West Indies between 1246 and 1696, was published under the title *Naaukeurige versameling der gedenkwaardigste . . . reysen na Oost en West-Indië* (*Accurate collection of the most remarkable . . . journeys to the East and West Indies*) in 29 octavo volumes comprising 127 parts. Writings relating to the Americas included, as was customary, the work of José de Acosta, Girolamo Benzoni, Jean de Léry, Sir Walter Raleigh, John Smith, and Hans Staden. Herrera y Tordesilla's history, one portion of which is translated here, alone contributed twenty-one volumes to the series. This engraving of an Aztec sacrificial temple is found in an account of Cortés's exploration and conquest of Mexico.

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42. Joseph François Lafitau. *Moeurs des sauvages ameriquains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps*. Paris: Saugrain, the elder, & C.E. Hochereau, 1724.

While the idea of comparing the ancient cultures of Greece and Rome with those of the New World was not original to Lafitau, his familiarity with both classical literature and native American cultures allowed him to make extensive comparisons. In his two-volume study of the customs of Amerindians and ancient Europeans, Lafitau provided comprehensive and exact information concerning the religious and social manners of Native Americans, particularly of the Iroquois of Canada, among whom he had served as a Jesuit missionary. Shown here is a winter journey, illustrating the use of sleds and snowshoes.

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43. Gregorio García. *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo, e Indias Occidentales*. Madrid: F. Martinez Abad, 1729.

The fifth book of García's *Origin of the Indians of the New World, and West Indies* records the creation myths of natives from Hispaniola, Mexico, and Peru, as reported by European authors. The remainder of the work includes numerous theories regarding the origins of the Amerindians, including descent from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel and possible similarities between indigenous cultures and the civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome. The problem of establishing where the Indians came from had great theological ramifications as Europeans attempted to fit their awareness of America and its inhabitants into a knowledge of the world constructed upon Biblical tradition.

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44. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa. *Relacion historica del viage a la America meridional*. Madrid: A. Marin, 1748.

The Spanish desire to legitimize the Conquest and continuing colonization of the Inca Empire is expressed graphically in this massive copperplate engraving. The succession of Inca rulers is continued by a series of Spanish kings, ending in the center with "Fernando VI of Spain, the twenty-second emperor of Peru." The idea of legitimate succession is emphasized by the continuous numbering of the portraits, indicating a valid progression of rule and transfer of power.

The illustration appears in the first edition of Juan and Ulloa's report of the results of a French scientific expedition to South America in the years 1735-1744. The five volume set includes information on the indigenous and colonial populations,

the geography, and the natural resources of the vice-royalty of Peru. The work was reprinted many times and translated into English, French, and German. The authors, both officers in the Spanish navy, also wrote *Noticias secretas de America* (published posthumously in London in 1826), originally intended as a confidential report to the Spanish government concerning the political, social, and economic state of the colonies.

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45. Miguel Venegas. *Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal, y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente.* Madrid: M. Fernandez, 1757.

Descriptions of several California tribes no longer in existence are found in this history of the military and spiritual conquest of the region. Venegas initiated the work in a manuscript he completed in 1739. The Jesuit Andrés Marcos Burriel completed the text using the writings of general historians such as Herrera and Torquemada for the secular events and documents in the Jesuit archives for the religious affairs. Because the book contained more geographic and ethnographic information about Lower California than almost any other publication of the previous one hundred and fifty years, French, English, German, and Dutch editions were printed within a dozen years of the first Spanish edition.

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46. Juan de Escandón. *Neue Nachrichten von den Missionen der Jesuiten in Paraguay und von andern damit verbundenen Vorgängen in der spanischen Monarchie.* Hamburg, 1768.

The geographic extent of Jesuit activity around the world, as recorded in 1762, is delineated in this tree-shaped diagram. Missionary endeavors in the Americas are represented by the French branch (in the middle of the left side) and the Spanish branch (in the lower right side). The Jesuit's successful evangelization in Paraguay, particularly in the establishment of communal villages among the Guarani, is recounted in this history of the religious order's activities in the Spanish

branch (in the lower right side). The Jesuit's successful evangelization in Paraguay, particularly in the establishment of communal villages among the Guarani, is recounted in this history of the religious order's activities in the Spanish domains. Originally published in Italian in two parts in 1743 and 1749, French, German, and English translations were also printed before the nineteenth century.

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47. Bernhard Havestadt. *Chilidūgu sive Res Chilenses*. Westphalia: Aschendorf [at the expense of B. Havestadt], 1777.

Havestadt, a Jesuit who lived in Chile for twenty years, hoped to promote knowledge of the Araucanian language. The author thought the language to be superior to all others, much as he believed the Chilean Andes to be above all other mountains. The work includes an Araucanian grammar and vocabulary, a catechism in prose and verse, organ music to accompany the poetic catechism, and the author's diary of a journey taken in 1751- 1752.

The map documents the provinces, towns, and churches which Havestadt visited during his tour of Chile. Spanish settlements, Jesuit structures, and the regions controlled by native *caciques* are also marked. The text of the map notes that in the flatlands, the homes of the Indians are fixed and do not differ much from those of Spanish peasants. In the mountains, however, the natives do not have stable sites for houses but move as often as necessity demands.

Native Americans

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48. Christian Ernst Wünsch. *Unterhaltungen über den Menschen. Erster theil über die Kultur und äußerliche Bildung desselben.* Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, Son and Company, 1796.

Knowledge of the variety of native cultures accumulated throughout the eighteenth century as reports from different regions of the Americas continued to be published. The awareness in Europe of this diversity, at least in its physical manifestations, is reflected in this engraving comparing different types of Amerindians from Canada to Patagonia. The illustration is from the first part of Wünsch's "Conversation about Mankind," which focuses on culture and man's external appearances. The text, illustrated with fourteen fold-out plates, describes societies from the Americas, Asia, the South Pacific, Africa, Europe, and the polar regions.

III. ALLEGORIES AND SYMBOLS

One type of image of the Amerindian popular in Europe was found in allegories. These representations were not meant to portray particular natives from a specific locale or an identifiable individual, but were constructed as symbols for the hemisphere: its lands, its wealth, and its ever-present exoticism in the European imagination. Usually portrayed as a naked female native, America was often associated with other symbols of the continent such as feathers (derived from early depictions of Indians from Brazil), New World birds and animals, indigenous weapons, and riches. Allegories of America, often combined with personifications of other continents, were produced not only on the printed page but also in paintings, murals, tapestries, silver and pewter plates, even in processions staged at festivals. Aside from being decorative, these allegories often expressed European attitudes of superiority toward America and its inhabitants in political, religious, and social affairs.

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49. Abraham Ortelius. *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Antwerp: G. Coppens v. Diest, 1570.

The existence of a fourth continent, recognized by geographers in the first decade of the sixteenth century, was realized more fully in European consciousness after the first successful circumnavigation of 1519-1522. Nonetheless, it was not until the 1570s that allegories of the four known continents began to appear. This engraved title page is for the first edition of one of the most celebrated geographical works of the sixteenth century. America is seen reclining in the lowest portion of the picture with a bow and arrow by her side, holding a man's severed head in one hand and a stylized Tupinambá war club in the other. Above her stand Asia, draped in silks, and Africa, with a stylized sun behind her head. A crowned Europe is found at the top with a scepter and an orb, the latter symbolizing the world fully under the reign of Christianity.

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50. Jan Huygen van Linschoten. *Itinerario, voyage, ofte schipvaert.*
Amsterdam: C. Claesz, 1596.

In the corners of this world map are the personifications of the four continents. America is found in the lower left riding an armadillo and is accompanied by what would become several standard symbols associated with the New World: she wears a feather bonnet and carries an arrow; a parrot is above her head, and in the background are cannibals preparing a meal. The idea of America as a naked female on such an animal has been attributed to the Flemish painter Martin de Vos, who produced the image for a series of allegorical drawings for the decoration of a triumphal arch constructed in Antwerp in 1594. The image was first widely distributed in an engraving by Adrien Collaert printed ca. 1595-1600.

Linschoten's compendium of knowledge about the East and West Indies was highly regarded for its accurate information concerning geography, navigation, and ethnology. Editions appeared in Dutch, French, English, and Latin, and de Bry adapted the text for parts two, three, and four of his German language collection of "Small Voyages," concerned with the East Indies.

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51. Hendrick Ottsen. *Journael oft daghelycx-register van de voyagie na Rio de Plata.* Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1617.

Originally published in 1603, this is the second edition of the only book about one of the earliest Dutch trading ventures to the New World. It recounts the misadventures of two Dutch ships, "De Gulden Werelt" and "De Silveren Werelt," in their failed attempts to conduct business in Guinea and the Rio de la Plata. The illustrated title page depicts America on an armadillo, again identified by her feather head-dress and bow and arrow.

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52. Johann Ludwig Gottfried. *Newe Welt und americanische Historien*. Frankfurt: Heirs of Merian, 1655.

This abridgment of parts 1-12 combined with the reissue of part 14 of de Bry's *Grands Voyages* was originally published in 1631. The work includes texts compiled from the writings of Martyr, Oviedo, Staden, Acosta, and Herrera as well as numerous other accounts of the exploration, geography, history, and natural history of the New World. The engraved frontispiece reflects the European view of America as an exotic land, represented here by semi-naked inhabitants in a dark and dense tropical setting filled with an abundance of riches.

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53. Arnoldus Montanus. *America: being the latest, and most accurate description of the New World*. London: J. Ogilby, 1671.

This English version of Arnoldus Montanus's *De Nieuwe en onbekende Weereld* was translated, edited, and published by John Ogilby, who specialized in producing lavishly illustrated folio volumes of geography and history. The frontispiece was engraved by Jacob van Meurs, the publisher of the original Dutch edition of the same year. Here America is distributing her wealth to the crowd below which includes Indians, adorned in a variety of costumes, and European soldiers. The blank cartouche at the bottom of the plate was caused by Ogilby's removal of the original Amsterdam imprint.

*

54. Louis Hennepin. *Aenmerckelycke historische Reys-Beschryvinge Door verscheyde Landen veel grooter als die van geheel Europa onlanghs ontdeckt. . . .*
Utrecht: A. Schouten, 1698.

Hennepin was a Franciscan Recollect friar who came to Canada in 1675. He explored the Great Lakes region with Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle and accompanied Michael Aco on the first European expedition of the upper Mississippi valley. In the engraved title page for this Dutch edition of the author's *Nouveau voyage d'un pais plus grand que l'Europe*, a few changes from previous representations of America are evident: the figure of America is male and sits upon an alligator, rather than an armadillo. Additional characters include a friar, two European colonists, and slaves. Note that America as well as one slave in the foreground is in chains.

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55. Gottfrid Bernhard Goetz. *America*. Augsburg, [ca. 1750].

This hand-colored engraving is one of a set of four prints representing each of the known continents of the time. The image of America as an Indian woman seated on an alligator was commonly used in allegories by the mid-eighteenth century. The print also contains imagery derived from previously published works. The scene of Columbus encountering natives bearing gifts, with the cross, three ships, and other natives fleeing in the background, is possibly taken from part four of de Bry's *Grands Voyages*. The two natives in the foreground on the left may be also be found in Gottfried's book of 1655 (see item 52). The poem below the image includes the following description of the inhabitants and the region where they reside: "One finds the people there barbarically wild and can hardly compare them to humans. The land however is filled with everything . . . gold, pearls, jewels, also sugar, coconuts, cochineal, and rivers rich with silver."

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56. John Gabriel Stedman. *Narrative of a five years' expedition, against the revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the wild coast of South America; from the year 1772 to 1777.* London: J. Johnson, 1806.

This allegory, entitled "Europe supported by Africa and America," is one of sixteen plates engraved by William Blake for Stedman's Narrative. Although produced as journeyman work, Blake's artistry is still evident in both the grace and sensuousness found in the three interconnected figures of the continents. First printed in London in 1796, Stedman's account of his experiences in Guiana was published in eighteen editions by 1840, including translations into German, French, Dutch, Swedish, and Italian.

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